

# information bulletin

OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE POLISH UNITED  
WORKERS' PARTY

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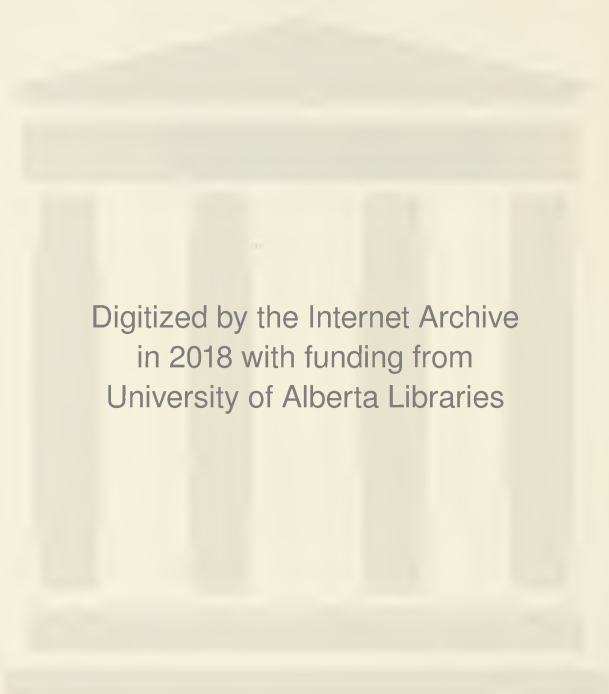
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W A R S A W

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# information bulletin



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**CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE POLISH UNITED  
WORKERS' PARTY**

*information bulletin*

**W A R S A W**

**No. 3**

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## EDWARD OCHAB

Member of the Political Bureau  
and Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

### ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE 12TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PUWP

FEBRUARY 26, 1963

*Dear Comrades!*

Once again we wish to concentrate the attention of the Central Committee of our Party on agricultural issues.

We are returning to these problems because, at the present rate of growth, farm production does not fully satisfy our needs.

The gap between the level of plant and livestock production is still too great.

The considerable shortage of fodder, particularly of concentrates, has an unfavourable effect on the growth of the number of livestock and its productivity. In the years of poor harvests, the decrease in the yield of the staple crops forces us to import very large quantities of grain and fodder.

This in turn imposes a great strain on the whole national economy, for we must raise additional funds for the import of grain and fodder at the cost of imports for various important branches of industry, as is the case in the current year, following the crop failure of 1962.

Comparing the last two five-year periods, we note a pronounced increase in farm production. The report of the Political Bureau gives data which provide a more exact picture of this process. The achievements of agriculture are the result of the farm policy of our Party, the line of which was mapped out by the Third Congress. At the subsequent plenary sessions, particularly at the 2nd and 6th Plenums of the CC, we took

a number of decisions regarding measures that would guarantee the implementation of this political line which, together with the allied United Peasant Party and with the full support of the peasants, we have been carrying out steadily for a number of years now.

Today, we should like to present to the Central Committee another series of measures which, upon implementation, should help step up the growth of agricultural production and particularly the production of grain and fodder plants.

Our agriculture still has a good many possibilities for additional production.

The exploitation of these possibilities depends largely upon the investment outlays in agriculture itself and in the branches of industry that supply agriculture with the means of production.

It is not easy to increase investment outlays or to change their structure in our economic situation. Nevertheless we submit proposals along this line because we are convinced that one of our most important tasks is to increase farm production.

The natural increase and rise in employment outside agriculture is large in our country. In the structure of consumption, the proportion of food is greater in Poland than in countries with a highly developed economy.

Every increase in the earnings of the low- and medium-income groups leads to an increase in the demand for meat and dairy products. Under these circumstances, the development of agriculture is an indispensable condition for a higher standard of living of the working masses.

In our situation, a more rapid growth of agricultural production means, in the first place, intensive cultivation in all the branches of farming based on additional investments and better use of scientific achievements.

The problems and the proposed solutions presented for

discussion at the Plenum, constitute a continuation of our present plan of action and, at the same time, supplement and define this plan with greater precision.

The measures and methods which we wish to apply are designed, principally, to overcome the weaknesses of our agriculture and to achieve the quickest results possible. Here are a few examples:

We shall need a fairly long time to make up the disproportion between plant and livestock production by carrying out the irrigation and drainage programme, by increasing the use of fertilizers and by supplying agriculture with modern machines.

It will be possible to put the fodder produced at present to better use in the next few years, if agriculture receives a sufficient quantity of protein-rich feeding-stuffs both from industry and by changing the crop structure in favour of leguminous plants.

The sizeable potential that the State Farms represent can be put to more efficient use by supplementing their supply of machines and expanding their farm buildings as well as by strengthening the organization and increasing the personnel of the poorest farms.

By concentrating the tractors and machinery of the agricultural circles in specified regions and by synchronizing the



EDWARD OCHAB

mechanization work of the circles with the expansion of repair shops, it is possible to reap greater production results from mechanization and to convince the peasants of the importance and advantages of communal use of the machines owned by the circles. The experience gained by peasants will be of great profit, especially at the time when the further growth of our engineering industry will make it possible to equip the agricultural circles with modern machinery.

We know that investments in farm-building construction are also insufficient, although we appropriate increasingly larger funds for this purpose each successive year.

The most urgent task is to lower the cost of production, to build with prefabricated materials and to increase the production capacity of the construction enterprises that build for agriculture.

The weak technical-production base of agriculture is not the only bar to its development. The production capacity of hundreds of thousands of peasant farms is weakened by family division of land and inheritance payments made to those who frequently have nothing in common with agriculture. Thanks to the state these people got the opportunity to find work outside agriculture, and to enjoy security thanks to the effort of the whole of society, which contributed many thousands of millions toward the construction of new factories. It is high time that we draw conclusions from this situation. It is high time that hundreds of thousands of farms be freed from the burden of family division of land and payments which check their development.

The report contains a fuller analysis of each of these problems and detailed proposals on the manner of solving them. Time does not allow me to deal with every problem discussed in the report of the Political Bureau, but allow me, Comrades, to emphasize the importance of several of these questions.

Most urgent is the problem of increasing the fodder supply and of greater economy in the use of feeding-stuffs. We intend to increase considerably the industrial production of fodder concentrates rich in protein and containing vitamins, minerals and other nutrients. For this purpose we are importing more fish meal and oil cakes at the expense of fodder grains.

We want to improve the protein balance of agriculture and in this manner assure a more economical use of carbohydrate-rich fodder which, under our soil and climatic conditions, our agriculture can accumulate with greater ease.

So far, due to the insufficiency of protein, we do not make the best use of the abundance of potatoes and sugar beet pulp, which constitutes a large proportion of our fodder. It is not good economy to make up the shortage of protein by importing grain because of the high import costs and the low protein content of grain. By increasing the import of fish meal and oil cakes to the amount specified in the report, we shall be able to cut the import of grain by about one million tons and thus save a considerable amount of foreign currency. To this end, it is absolutely necessary to increase the national production of protein-rich feeding-stuffs, fodder yeast from malt (molasses) and potato industry waste products, fish meal, meat and bone meal — by fully utilizing the waste from the meat-packing plants, dried green fodder, and powdered fodder milk.

In this manner, up to 1965 we shall receive from the national industrial production and from import over 500,000 tons of protein-rich concentrates, and by adding to them vitamins, antibiotics, amino acids and minerals, we shall produce 3,200,000 tons of nutritious compounds with a medium protein content.

This will not be an easy task. On the one hand, we must allocate large funds for investment — as much as 2,000 million zlotys or 580 million more than provided for by the Five-Year Plan — in order to finance the programme. On the other hand,

the rural population must be trained to replace the old and ineffective methods of feeding animals by modern methods and a regular supply of mixtures must be assured. In the nearest future, we must undertake an instruction programme and start organizational work in this field. The Provincial Party Committees as well as the Presidiums of the Provincial and County People's Councils must work out, on the basis of the directives of the Department of Agriculture as well as the Department of the Food Industry and Purchases, a detailed plan for the construction of local fodder mixing plants, which are an indispensable step toward the implementation of our programme of supplying agriculture with fodder blends. Propaganda work should be undertaken in chosen regions in order to explain to the peasants the economic advantages to the producers and to the state of using industrial feed mixtures instead of rough-ground grain. In a mass schooling programme, the instructors will have to teach the farmers methods of rational feeding of livestock with the use of these blends.

The mixtures of concentrated fodder will consist of components with a high protein content, produced in Poland and imported, as well as of ground grain and bran. That means that the state must acquire an additional quantity of grain to prepare the blends. We wish to obtain the grain by an exchange system with the farmers: the state will supply the farmers with prepared blends on advantageous terms. In regions where the supply of protein-rich concentrates will make it possible to satisfy regularly the livestock producers' demand for fodder, we shall introduce new contraction principles.

The livestock producer will have the right to the full quantity of concentrated fodder mixture for a contracted animal on the condition that he supplies the state with a specified quantity of grain which he had been using less profitably to fatten the animal.



The producer will profit by the fact that the concentrate will contain a larger amount of protein than does the grain furnished to the state. Due to this arrangement the producer will make more economical use of other fodder, particularly potatoes, and will be able to fatten more livestock with it and thus increase his income. The state will gain by reducing the import of grain.

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The expansion of the fodder industry, the change in the import structure and increase in the production of factory-made fodder, depends above all on the decision of the central authorities. This does not mean however that the regional authorities should sit back and wait until freight cars start bringing concentrates to the county mixing plants with which to supplement the local protein resources. We have stressed in the report that the cheapest protein, obtainable in much larger quantities than in the fodder compounds, must be produced by the farms.

500,000 tons of concentrates yield 160,000 tons of protein, while 200,000 hectares of lucerne, the area by which we should increase our fodder acreage, will yield 120,000 tons of protein without incurring large foreign currency outlays, except for the imported seed. Expansion of the area sown with clover — and we do not have to import the seed — would yield at least an equal amount of protein. But the task of improving the crop structure is not limited to these two plants.

For instance, we have the small bean and other leguminous plants. If we add to this the protein which may be obtained from fodder plants by better harvesting and storage methods, we may then clearly understand that the major part of the programme for remedying the protein shortage devolves upon the improvement of cultivation methods. In this field, success

depends on the work of the Party committees and organizations, of the People's Councils and peasant farm organizations.

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I shall now turn briefly to the extremely important problem of the further improvement of the State Farms. The report defines the tasks that we place before this sector of agriculture, which constitutes the basis of production and supply of the principal means indispensable for intensification of our entire farming. The key problem is the strengthening of the State Farms precisely in this respect — production of high-quality grain seed, seed potatoes and breeding stock. Although there are thousands of farms with considerable achievements in this field, we still have a large number of farms whose production potential is not fully put to work, and this despite the progress shown by the majority of State Farms in recent years. As in the fodder programme, here, too, we may point to two aspects of the plan for strengthening the State Farms. The first of these is the allocation of additional investment funds for the State Farms from the resources of the national economy, and an increased supply of tractors and machines as well as of prefabricated building materials. We shall take decisions in this matter at the present Plenum. The second aspect is the large number of detailed decisions that will have to be taken in the provinces and counties in order to ensure the full implementation of the resolution of the plenary session.

The local authorities should take an active part in drafting a carefully studied plan for the use of the additional funds, taking into consideration the specific nature of each region and each farm. This is closely related to the question of planning the line of production. At this point, I want to draw the attention of the comrades to the part of the report which deals with the



present conditions of production on State Farms as compared with other sectors of our agriculture.

One of the important tasks is to establish the order in which the areas of the State Land Fund will be incorporated in the State Farms, after settlement of property rights and after an exchange of land is affected wherever this is necessary.

We are not interested only in transferring certain areas from the management of the State Land Fund to the State Farms. From this additional acreage, the State Farms should produce additional quantities of grain and livestock.

The State Farms could not accomplish this if they were forced to farm the land extensively on distant and scattered plots.

One of the essential conditions of this programme is that the land of the enlarged farms be properly located.

The order and the time schedule for putting the land under cultivation is not without significance. The programme should start with working the land that adjoins the better State Farms and with land that has buildings suitable for conducting large-scale commodity production.

It may be useful to mention several figures that illustrate the amount of money needed for investment purposes in order to put the additional acreage to work. On the comparatively efficiently run State Farms of Poznań and Łódź Provinces, it is necessary to invest over 40,000 zlotys in fixed capital per hectare of area. With the mechanization of livestock production, the investment outlay should increase to 50,000 zlotys per hectare.

According to this comparative scale, about 10,000 million zlotys would have to be invested directly in the State Farms to put 200,000 hectares of new land into full production.

We do not have these resources at present. That is why we shall begin with the most important, fundamental investments and, as we supplement them, go over gradually to intensive

cultivation in the whole added area. While investing at present only a part of the money needed for farming the 200,000 hectares of arable land, we should prevent a spreading of the outlays over a wide area, which would diminish the effectiveness of the investments.

\*

It is extremely important to strengthen the management of the large but still weak farms. This is a job for the Provincial and County Party Committees, and they should attend to it in the shortest time possible. Many candidates may be picked from among the administrative personnel of the State Farms, by transferring some of the specialists from the State Farm Inspectorate to work on the farms. It is also necessary to move to the State Farms several hundred specialists, agronomists and stockbreeding experts from other institutions and organizations. We wish to provide good material conditions for specialists who take on this difficult job of managing the farms. But we must also remember about the moral aspects, about the atmosphere of encouragement and kindly help which should be offered to experts who work honestly toward the strengthening of State Farms.

It is difficult to run a large farm because the manager cannot devote himself entirely to production problems and to the improvement of the qualifications of the farm workers. Too often he is forced to tear himself away from this work in order to see to the improvement of the work performed on the farm by the organizations and institutions which are designated for this job but which, unfortunately, do not perform their duties efficiently.

Almost all farms come under the local authorities or are supervised by them. It is therefore worth reminding the local

leaders that the job of directing the socialized sector and of developing agriculture cannot be limited to the offering of recommendations and the issuing of orders to the managers of State Farms.

With the advance of technology and with the growing concentration and specialization of agricultural production, the work of the State Farms will increasingly depend on the efficiency, punctuality and reliability of services and supplies as well as on facilitating their sales of farm produce.

The State Farm personnel can undoubtedly voice many grievances in this respect.

This problem has a broader significance. It also pertains to the cooperative farms and in a growing degree — with the increase of their production activity — to the agricultural circles. Not only socialized farms, but every individual farmer demands efficient service.

It should be an important part of the political and educational work of the Party to imbue the managerial staff and the activists of farm-service institutions and organizations with a spirit of efficiency in order to raise farm production in general, and even more so of the socialized farm enterprises.

This work should embrace the personnel of commercial and educational institutions, of the health service and other agencies which can do much to improve the living and social conditions of the State Farm workers; they have much to make up in this field.

We wish to draw the attention of the Provincial and County Committees to the urgent need of taking up the problems of cooperative farms in a concrete and effective manner. The decisions of the Party and Government had provided favourable conditions for strengthening and developing the cooperative farms.

On the whole the cooperative farms are trying to use these

conditions to proper advantage. They are intensifying their farming, are obtaining ever higher yields and are stepping up livestock raising.

There is a steadily growing number of cooperatives which produce and increase the delivery of high-quality seed, thus making a valuable contribution to the fulfilment of the seed programme.

That is the bright side of the issue. On the dark side, we find, among other things, that in the past few years the investment outlays did not reach the level planned not because the cooperatives did not have the funds and not because we denied them credits for this purpose, but because the local authorities disregarded the construction needs of the cooperatives.

Similar examples may be given in other fields of collective farming. Its development could be much swifter if the Party committees and People's Councils were more attentive and sensitive to the just demands of the cooperative farms.

Among the most urgent tasks in this field, mention should be made of the following: the sending of good agricultural specialists to cooperatives as full-time production managers, the construction of homes, guaranteed aid in preparing investment projects and in getting efficient service from building enterprises, and proper supervision of the various agencies of the state and economic apparatus so that due regard be paid to the needs of the cooperatives.

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The next important point concerns the development of the agricultural circles and greater participation on their part in the intensification of farming. The figures given in the report indicate that the "circle" movement is broad in scope, embracing almost 75% of the villages in which the supporters of progress

in agriculture decided to work in an organized manner. The agricultural circles are a powerful force. Basing ourselves on the circles we should carry out both the programme for the development of agriculture outlined in previous resolutions and in the recommendations adopted at the present Plenum.

Through the agricultural circles our programme of progress can reach the majority of villages, and the experienced farmers who are members of these circles will know how to apply these recommendations to local conditions.

We have frequently posed the tasks of increasing production of grain and protein plants, making use of scientific sources and the experiences of leading peasants.

In every village and every circle we can find experts, experienced producers, who work their farm intensively. They obtain high yields and make a good profit on livestock, for which they produce a sufficient quantity of nutritious fodder.

They know the value of lucerne, appreciate the value of production of fodder as a second crop, and boldly undertake the cultivation of such crops as maize and small beans.

Further, they consider ensilage a necessary method of production and use every scrap of good soil for the cultivation of intensive plants.

The task of the agricultural circle is to draw the attention of the whole village to the progressive methods of production employed by leading farmers. Comparison of the production methods prevalent in a given village with methods employed by leading farmers should be the daily practice of each and every agricultural circle.

In this manner we shall reach most rapidly our most desired goal: general introduction of the line and methods of production that guarantee intensive farming.

This type of work by the agricultural circles — popularization of the best local methods of farming — is important to the

solution of such problems as the improvement of the crop structure, increase of the area under cultivation of protein-rich fodder plants, and the wide use of ensilage.

The thousands of leading farmers who are active in the circles can give us invaluable help in the implementation of the programme for intensive farming which consists, among other things, of the seed programme, protection of plants, cultivation of meadowlands, treatment of soil with lime, and improvement of fertilizing methods.

The mechanization work conducted by the agricultural circles prepared the ground for the propagation of modern methods of farming. With the machine technique, it is possible to improve the conditions for cultivating and harvesting valuable plants, which, together with other progressive methods, signify a further increase in farm production.

We have gained a great deal of experience in the first years of organizing and mechanizing the agricultural circles.

Experience confirms the correctness of the idea of collective use of machines by individual peasant farms. Experience confirms the desirability of concentrating tractors and machinery in specified regions. The farmer must have dependable tractor and machine service at the required time so that he may complete his work on schedule.

This condition cannot be filled if the circle has only one or two tractors and an incomplete set of machines.

Under these circumstances, the machines satisfy only a small part of the demand, the tractors are used principally for transport and their part in raising farm production is small.

The previous principle of accumulating contributions did not favour the increase in the number of sets of farm machines. The change in principle was, however, not made for the purpose of distributing tractors irrespective of the fact whether a circle was ready for machines, but in order to make sure that — in



accordance with the plan — certain selected regions would get complete sets of tractors and farm machines and thus get better results of mechanization in the form of increased production.

This principle is based on the experience of scores of communities in which a swifter rate of mechanization was undertaken two years ago. In most cases, the large number of tractors and machines in these communities gives favourable results in every respect — a rise in the output of marketable produce, an increase in the number of livestock and a noticeable decrease in the number of horses.

In this connection it is worth pointing out that the Party and economic active do not show a steady interest in the work of the agricultural circles in communities with a large amount of farm equipment. Their experiences are not studied and concrete economic conclusions are not drawn from them.

We must point to the glaring disproportion between the zeal with which whole volumes of plans on the development of these communities were written and the effort which should be made to give daily help to the peasants while their farms are undergoing mechanization.

Today, we raise once again the question of concentration of machinery, but not as an experiment in several dozen communities. This time we speak of it as an obligatory line of action. We are authorized to do so not only by the results of the first group of communities, but also because there is a need for a good network of repair shops. In many cases, when there is no repair shop in the vicinity and the necessary help cannot be gotten from instructors, the tractors are ruined and the farmers do not have the assurance of work on their land being done in the proper time.

Taking into consideration our past experiences, we consider the State Machine Centres as the most suitable organizers of

the network of community repair shops — branches of the Machine Centres.

The principle that tractors and machines should be concentrated in circles in conjunction with an increasing number of repair shops, means that the programme of mechanization cannot be carried out according to the same pattern in each and every circle.

Circles, which in line with the plan will be able to purchase such equipment at a later date, should start mechanization by purchasing threshing machines and making full use of them.

In this way the farmer's work will be lightened, and shrewd operators and manipulators who made a big profit because many circles did not fully utilize the Agricultural Development Fund, will be put out of commission.

Of no less importance is the purchase of spraying equipment or horse-drawn seeders, particularly in the mountain regions and in areas where the holdings are very small.

A shortage of tractors cannot be used as an argument by County Party Committees and the County Association of Agricultural Circles which take a passive attitude to the fact that a part of the villages still do not have agricultural circles, or to the fact that, although the circles formally exist, they did not as yet buy threshing machines even though they have the necessary funds, threshers are available, and the poorer peasants would like to use such group-owned machines.

Good work by the County Party Committees and County Associations of Agricultural Circles will be decisive in the organization of new circles wherever they have not as yet been established and in bringing about the purchase of modern threshing machines by circles which do not as yet possess them, using for this purpose money from the Agricultural Development Fund. It should be pointed out however that, in line with the recommendation of the General Board of the



Association of Agricultural Circles, it is not advisable to organize circles in small villages which have little in the way of a Development Fund.

Such villages should be looked after by the agricultural circles of a larger neighbouring village.

This year we have not been able to fill all the orders for tractors placed by the circles, and this situation will undoubtedly exist also in the next year, although the supply of tractors for circles will continue to grow and will amount to about 40,000 in 1963-1965.

During the period of the next Five-Year Plan the rate of increase in the supply of tractors and farm machines will be still greater, and at that time we will be able to meet the demand of the agricultural circles, considerably reduce the number of horses, that is of draft animals, and ensure each circle of the possibility to purchase several tractors and a sufficient number of farm machines.

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The next important problem is that of improving rural construction. We want to allocate the necessary funds for this purpose and to achieve a considerable increase in the output capacity of the State Farms' construction and repair establishments. We are now considering the organizational changes that should be made in this field.

The problem is important not only because construction in the rural area has been expensive and not carried out on schedule due to non-agricultural construction jobs being considered more urgent than agricultural construction. We must also see new tasks: a rapid expansion of repair shops, several additional thousand million zlotys' worth of construction work on State Farms, and the need to encourage peasant investments by sup-

plying building materials that meet the requirements of economy and modern technology.

The decisions we take in these matters should provide the possibility for:

- the complete fulfilment of investment tasks;

- a marked reduction in building costs;

- preparation of a technical base for rural construction to ensure the carrying out of the tasks which will assuredly be higher in the next Five-Year Plan than at present.

In connection with all these tasks, it is of utmost importance to base rural construction on prefabricated sections and to replace conventional methods with modern ones, namely, assembly of standard sections. These methods can be used in rural construction since most of the buildings are simple, uniform and standard. They are for the most part one-storey prefabricated buildings for which light building equipment is definitely sufficient. The inevitably scattered character of rural building jobs and the comparatively low output on many building sites would suggest the introduction of methods which would shorten the building period and lower costs. This would bring considerable savings in view of the scope of construction in the rural areas.

Our agriculture should be interested particularly in standard buildings which are easy to put up. Both the prospects of the development of farm production and the constant improvement of the production technology in agriculture call for the putting up of buildings which, in their layout and construction, may be easily adapted to new purposes and put to better use.

Thus, the number of standard designs for rural construction should be limited and should be prepared in such a way so that the buildings could be erected of standard prefabricated sections. The production of such sections, adapted to the needs of agriculture, should be undertaken and properly distributed, and the

building enterprises working for agriculture should be supplied with the equipment necessary for this type of construction work.

The report contains a draft plan for the system of managing building enterprises. The plan takes into account the different investment structure for farm construction in two groups of provinces. Proposals have also been submitted for strengthening the construction investment service. The statements of comrades, particularly of those with local experience, will be taken into account in laying down the new principles of organization of rural construction. Apart from the organizational concepts, the most important, as I have already mentioned, is the question of a marked increase in the supply of prefabricated materials for rural construction and the delivery of equipment and transport vehicles to the building enterprises.



The decisions we adopt at the present Plenum will make for a notable increase in farm production, an improvement in the food supply for the people, a higher income for the countryside, and a further consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

The task ahead is to implement these decisions in an organized manner and according to the established time table.

Not only the ministries, branch agencies and People's Councils are responsible for the carrying out of these decisions. As far as the Central Committee is concerned, responsibility in this regard rests with all leading Party bodies and organizations which, by uniting the well thought-out and devoted effort of hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-party people, can assure and even accelerate the total fulfilment of the difficult tasks posed at our Plenum.

These tasks will be carried better, the deeper the analysis

made by the Communists not only of the general recommendations of the plenary meeting but also of the situation in their respective localities, the deeper they go into the question of making good use of all the potentialities in their regions, of the proper placing of personnel, of rallying round the Party committees and organizations the non-party active as well as the activists of the agricultural circles, trade unions and youth organizations, activists who have confidence in the Party and its political line, activists who will work more effectively when our Party organizations and leading bodies place greater confidence in them.

# WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA

First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

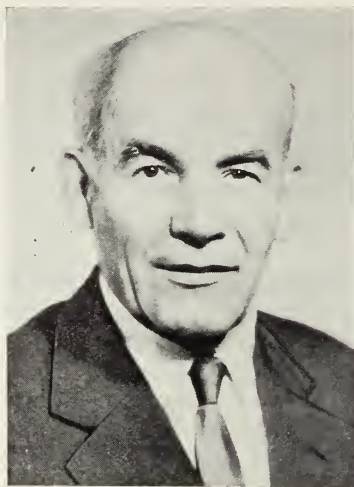
## SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE 12TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PUWP

FEBRUARY 27, 1963

In his concluding speech Władysław Gomułka concentrated on the problems connected with improving the work of State Farms and how to make the best use of the funds allocated by the State for this purpose. He called attention to the need of overcoming some of the weaknesses in the work of the agricultural circles, and also referred to the tasks that stem from the resolution of the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PUWP for Party committees and organizations.

"The Party devotes so much attention to the problems of agriculture," said Władysław Gomułka at the beginning of his speech, "because this very important sector of the national economy is its especially weak link. Each failure in agriculture, each bad harvest affects the entire national economy. The consequences of the bad harvest of 1962 were grave for our entire economy. It was necessary to change the plans and the expected capital outlays for the current year and for the remaining years of the Five-Year Plan. Agriculture must therefore be strengthened in the first place by increased outlays of capital. But though we invest more and more in agriculture the funds assigned for this purpose are still inadequate.

"The 9,000-10,000 million zlotys allocated additionally for the years 1963-1965 can improve the situation only very slightly. But we cannot afford more, all the more so since the exceptionally severe winter and the immense amounts of snow have



WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA

caused great damage and showed the need for additional capital investments in the railways and in other branches of our economy.

"We can manage to supply these funds only by making further changes in the investment plan.

"It is true that the question of the proportions of the capital outlays for the various branches of the economy was not discussed by the Plenum. This is a problem that requires much discussion and a thorough analysis. Nevertheless, already today it is obvious that in the next

Five-Year Plan these proportions will undergo further changes, that investment outlays for agriculture will continue to rise, and the rate of increase will be higher than in other sectors of the economy.

"The main subject of interest of the 12th Plenum was the problem of making the fullest possible use of the additional finances which we are allocating for agriculture. The point is that they should bring, in the first place, the best economic effects and, secondly, should contribute to strengthening the Socialist sector of agriculture. The conclusion is, therefore, that we must focus our attention on the State Farms.

"We are not laying down here a programme for the general transformation of agriculture, since conditions for this do not yet exist. It seems that it would be difficult to carry out a

Socialist transformation of our agriculture without placing the State Farms on a proper footing. That is why so much attention has been devoted in the report of the Political Bureau and in the discussion at the Plenum to the problem of what should be done, and how to go about it, in order to strengthen the State Farms, in order to improve, streamline and modernize their operation while making the fullest use of the means at our disposal.

"There are of course all kinds of State Farms: some that work well and others not so well. It can be said, however, that regardless of the state of their husbandry, all of them require capital outlays, for there is not one State Farm that is sufficiently equipped with the means to raise its production to the level which Socialist farms should represent.

"We can afford to improve the husbandry of all State Farms to such an extent that each one of them would become a model farm in the course of the next few years. This will, naturally, be a complicated process, one requiring a great amount of effort and the solution of a number of problems.

"Cadres represent a fundamental and primary problem. We have in mind not only the managers of the State Farms though in this respect, too, much should be improved. It is a well-known fact, for instance, that relatively few State Farms are run by people with a higher agricultural education and that 50 per cent of them are managed by people with practical knowledge but not the necessary education. The problem, however, is a much wider one. If we are to place the State Farms on a high level it is obvious that not only the manager of the State Farm or his deputy should be good specialists. The number of well-trained people working on State Farms should be much greater. We must bear in mind that, in the future, the State Farms will change into complexes of an industrial type combining several agricultural enterprises. They will therefore need a greater



number of highly skilled specialists. The needs in this respect will continue to grow, the more so since there is to be an increase in the over-all acreage of the State Farms.

"The State Farms complain of the lack of a sufficient number of trained specialists. And yet these people undoubtedly exist. The point is that only an infinitesimal percentage of agricultural specialists work on State Farms — in production. This is a serious shortcoming; such a situation cannot be tolerated. The aim now would be for some of the farm experts employed in various institutions to be transferred to the State Farms.

"In no sector of the national economy is there a situation where such a small percentage of specialists is employed in production and such a large percentage outside of it. This state of affairs must be changed by resorting to more effective and radical measures than hitherto.

"The problem of highly skilled personnel also requires other solutions. Some results could be obtained by continuing to transfer the managers of the better State Farms to the worse ones. It is also necessary to continue the additional training of both the State Farm managers and other specialists by sending them, whenever possible, to take regular courses for several months.

"As far as post-graduate trainees are concerned," continued Władysław Gomułka, "we must pursue a different policy. In addition to the obligatory training period, such conditions of work should be created for them that they remain permanently in production — on the State Farms. This problem cannot be solved in a stereotyped way; the approach in each instance, to each man, must be individual, realistic, practical. These young people will grow up to be the future State Farm managers. But this process requires many years of work, work in agriculture, on State Farms. The present managers should have on the farms two or three young people with a higher education who, while



studying, would obtain practical training and thus prepare themselves for independent work in the future.

"In solving the problem of trainees, close attention must be paid to giving them on the one hand the opportunity to obtain the greatest amount of practical knowledge and, on the other, to draw them into work in agriculture, to encourage them in this work. It must therefore be decided on which State Farms the trainees are to work, whether the training period is to be organized for individuals or groups. The schedule for practical training should be so worked out that the young trainees acquaint themselves with nearly all types of farm work.

"It is the Party and the youth organizations," said the First Secretary of the Central Committee, "that should look after the young trainees, that should give them a warm welcome, so that a young man who starts to work on a State Farm should feel that he is needed."

Władysław Gomułka next called attention to the distortions in the system of scholarships established in agriculture. The aim of these scholarships is to bind the graduate to the given enterprise or institution. It is therefore useless for institutions or agencies not connected directly with agricultural production (farm produce contracting agencies, banks, etc.) to grant scholarships to students in agricultural colleges. Scholarships of that type should be established by certain State Farms. During the years of study the student should already feel himself a part of the given farm. The Party, the youth organizations and the trade union should look after the scholarship holder.

The problem of personnel for agriculture is not limited to highly skilled specialists with a college education. Every farm needs skilled workers, above all mechanics, tractor drivers, combine operators, etc. In this field too there are serious shortcomings, and various kinds of solutions should be looked

for in order to remedy the situation. It seems imperative, for instance, to introduce a training period for the young people who finish the schools of farm mechanization.

Władysław Gomułka then went on to say that it is necessary to create an entire system of planned distribution of personnel for definite branches of production and definite places of work. This applies to the entire economy and is especially needed in agriculture. Tractor drivers, mechanics and combine operators should also be trained at the State Machine Centres (SMC). After finishing their studies and the necessary period of training at the SMC's, they should be transferred to work on State Farms.

It is also necessary to recruit more unskilled people for work on the State Farms.

In considering the personnel problems of the State Farms, we should acquaint ourselves with the needs of every farm and see to it that it is in a position to ensure appropriate living and working conditions — first and foremost, housing — to its workers.

Speaking about housing and other building problems of the State Farms, the First Secretary of the Central Committee emphasized that there is much to be done and to be improved in this field. The matter of ensuring housing should be concretely set down in the plans worked out for each State Farm. When engaging people for work the question of quarters should be clearly specified. These quarters cannot be occupied by people not connected with work on the given farm.

There are many shortcomings in construction as a result of the underestimation of the problems of agriculture in general, and of State Farms in particular. This is shown, among other things, by the fact that in the 18 years of people's rule we have been unable to work out good, standard designs. The hundreds of existing designs can hardly be called standard. To build

according to these blueprints would be a costly business, and often also impractical. The situation in this regard should be changed. The experience of other countries should be utilized. If this problem remains unsolved and we continue to build with the existing methods, at the prevailing high costs, the tasks of developing the State Farms with the resources that the government is able to provide for this purpose, will not be fulfilled. This question must be solved as quickly as possible by the ministries concerned and, in the first place, by the Ministry of Construction and of Building Materials and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Władysław Gomułka devoted a part of his speech to the question of pay on State Farms. He emphasized that wages should be closely linked with an all-round rise in production. The maxim "the better and higher the production, the better the pay" should apply here. State Farm employees should be financially interested in raising production.

"The problem of the State Farms," declared Comrade Gomułka, "must at present take priority in our work, and receive the maximum of our attention in the next three years and also in future years. The point is that the funds now allocated for this purpose should be made use of and expended to the best advantage."

Next Władysław Gomułka dealt with some of the problems of the agricultural circles. He stressed the fact that they made a considerable and valuable contribution to our economy and were to a great extent responsible for a number of achievements in agriculture. The Party is most vitally interested in the development and strengthening of the circles. The provinces have a definite programme of work in this regard.

Nevertheless, there are a number of weak spots in the work of the agricultural circles. The most important one is that the majority of the circles have been unable so far to make proper

use of the tractors and sets of machinery purchased by them. The conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that we cannot allow this unfavourable situation to continue.

Many circles demand extra funds to cover the deficits in the cost of operating the machinery. They want these deficits to be covered from the Agricultural Development Fund. This shows that they do not understand the principles and the aims of the Development Fund. This fund has been created for investment purposes, i.e., for the purpose of collecting the means to equip our agriculture to the widest extent possible in machinery and tractors, and not to pay extra money out of it for operating the machinery. Even an insufficiently trained personnel and relatively high costs of repairs do not justify operating at a loss. The more so since it usually concerns recently bought tractors. This does not mean that there are not quite a few circles that use their mechanical equipment intelligently and with good results. Such circles make profits and do not need extra funds, but this cannot be said of the majority of agricultural circles.

That is why there must be a major change in the prevailing practice of mechanizing agriculture by means of the circles. The tractors and machinery should be allotted to those who can run them better. We do not of course want to deprive the agricultural circles of the opportunity to buy machinery, if they so wish, but the allocation of sets of agricultural machines must be carefully checked in every instance. The existing system of distributing machines and tractor sets is extremely haphazard. It was of advantage to people who saw an opportunity to make good profits by exploiting the tractors supplied by the state. They did not concern themselves with the proper maintenance of the machinery nor with the interests of the circles.

The applications of agricultural circles for mechanical equip-

ment should be well founded. Their requests must be checked carefully. The tractors should be assigned to those who can make use of them to the benefit of the community. Before the circle receives the equipment it should prepare itself for operating it. We must put an end to the practice, still noted in some places, of expensive mechanical equipment, which is also in short supply, being left outdoors to deteriorate or being run by untrained people. The tractors and machines must be maintained in a good state.

To ensure proper conditions for using agricultural machinery, adequate repair facilities must be created. The rural community repair shops, branches of the State Machine Centres, could serve this aim. They could also become consultation centres where the agricultural circles could receive instructions on how to use the tractors and machinery most economically and to the best advantage.

The entire conception of technical supervision by State Machine Centres of agricultural circle equipment must still be thoroughly thought out.

Though the agricultural circles have the money for the purchase of threshing machines, a great many of them (10,000 out of the total of 28,000) do not have this equipment. The purchase of threshing machines for every circle, for every village, is a task of utmost importance for the agricultural circles.

Władysław Gomułka then went on to say that all Party members and leading bodies should see to the elimination of the unhealthy features in the work of the agricultural circles. In a number of provinces the Party committees have worked out sound and constructive plans of help for the circles. For example, mass training for peasants — circle members — has been organized in the province of Kielce on the initiative of the Provincial Committee of the PUWP.

Speaking about the work undertaken to strengthen the agricultural circles, the First Secretary of the Central Committee noted that the decision taken two years ago regarding large-scale mechanization of 50 chosen rural communities, has not been carried out. The aim of this decision was to concentrate mechanical equipment in certain areas. The principle of concentration should be strictly adhered to. Priority in large-scale mechanization should be given to rural communities where there is popular support for such a process, where a big proportion of the produce is marketed, and where the necessary technical facilities are located not too far away.

Bureaucracy has crept into the agricultural circles. No one knows, for example, how many agronomists who were supposed to work in the circles and live in the agronomists' centres, really live in the countryside. Quite a number of specialists were sent to work in the circles, yet many of them actually live in towns and do not give proper assistance to the circles, nor do they play the part they should. This state of affairs cannot be tolerated. It is the responsibility of the Party organizations and committees to see to it that this situation is remedied.

The circles are faced with a great variety of tasks: not only mechanization but also improvement of seed cultivation, the combating of weeds, changes in the structure of crops, expansion of wheat growing, increased growing of fodder with a high protein content, etc. All this constitutes a broad programme of work for every agricultural circle.

Władysław Gomułka also discussed the problem of the dividing up of farm holdings. In no other country does the process of fragmentation of farms move so swiftly. The reverse process — the concentration of land — is taking place throughout the world. In our countries — in the Socialist way, and in the Western countries — in the capitalist way. The process of



fragmentation must be checked. It demands the passing of a law prohibiting the division of farm lands and the introduction of appropriate changes in the inheritance law, of which we spoke in the report of the Political Bureau.

"Solution of the problems which were the subject of discussion of the present Plenum," concluded Władysław Gomułka, "calls for better forms of Party work. It is a good idea to develop a discussion with the aim of determining the best forms of help for agriculture to be given by the Party, its leading bodies and organizations.

"We are faced with the task of working out still many details which stem from the decisions of the 12th Plenum. This is a job both for the Central Committee and for the provincial and county organizations.

"We are faced with the task of working out a plan of activity in the various districts of the country. This will require a thorough familiarization with agricultural problems. This will call for a great mobilization of forces as well as changes in the methods of work of the entire Party and of all its organizations."

## RESOLUTION OF THE 12TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PUWP ON INCREASING CAPITAL INVESTMENTS IN AGRICULTURE AND ENSURING A FURTHER RISE IN FARM PRODUCTION

1 It is of decisive importance for the harmonious development of the entire national economy and for raising the living standards of the people to achieve a more rapid increase in farm production. Intensification of agriculture, modernization of its technical base, utilization of the great production reserves latent in our agriculture, increased marketable production, a systematic stepping up of the production of cereals and fodder and steps to ensure the planned increase in livestock by means of domestic production of fodder — these are still the most important and most urgent tasks stemming from the agricultural policy of the Party and the Government. The fulfilment of these tasks calls for greater capital outlays for agriculture and the industries connected with it.

Between 1955 and 1962 state outlays for capital investments essential to the development of farming increased from 6,100 million to 10,300 million zlotys, and budgetary expenditures for supporting the development of agricultural production rose from 5,500 million to 10,500 million zlotys. The peasants' own contributions toward capital investments increased from 4,400 to 8,600 million zlotys. In addition, the Agricultural Development Fund was established, from which the agricultural circles spent 1,400 million zlotys in 1962. Supplies of fertilizers and plant-protecting agents increased substantially,



as did the deliveries of tractors, farm machines, implements as well as building materials.

Our agriculture avails itself more and more of high-quality seeds for cereals and other plants, as well as of seed potatoes. It is also supplied with a growing quantity of livestock.

The greater assistance given by the state and the increased production and social initiative of the peasants and State Farm workers have all contributed towards a considerable increase in our agricultural production. In the last five years the total value of farm production was 18.6 per cent higher than in the preceding five years. Yields of the basic plants and the number of livestock increased markedly, while the production of meat, milk and eggs grew at a still greater rate. As a result, home consumption and the export of agricultural produce and food-stuffs also increased.

But the rise in plant production quite obviously has not kept up with livestock production, as a result of which the shortage of cereals and fodder became still greater. We had to make up this shortage by imports which, in recent years, came to 2.5 million tons annually and this year will be some 3 million tons. Such great dependence on imports for livestock raising and feeding the population has very unfavourable consequences for the entire national economy.

In order to reach, in the shortest possible time, a level of cereal and fodder production that will enable us to base stock-breeding on the domestic production of fodder, there must be a further increase in capital outlays for agriculture and a better supply of the means of production. At the same time it is necessary to adopt a number of organizational measures which will make possible a rational use of the new means of production and the existing reserves, and ensure a further rise in the level of farming.

2 The key problem, which calls for a speedy solution, is that of increasing and making better use of the fodder reserves of our country. The shortage of protein in fodder, seriously aggravated by seasonal fluctuations, causes an excessive use of fodder per unit of production, lowers the quality of the products, raises the cost of their production, and makes the fodder situation even more difficult.

To make up for this shortage the industrial production of fodder concentrates, enriched with protein, must be substantially increased so that in 1965 it will be possible to supply some 3 million tons of this fodder to agriculture.

This will call for:

- the production of greater quantities of fodder yeast, fish meal, meat and bone meal, additional quantities of dried green forage, and other ingredients of domestic production;
- a further increase in the import of oil cakes and fish meal, and a corresponding reduction in the import of cereals;
- the assuring of the production or import of components which enrich the nutritive value of the fodder: vitamins, antibiotics, amino acids, anti-oxidants and mineral ingredients.

In addition, it is necessary to increase the use of synthetic nitrogen compounds in feeding the animals, to start producing dried ammoniated sugar beet pulp and potatoe flakes, and make fuller use of the waste material from the food-processing industries.

The distribution of fodder mixtures should be based on the following principles:

- to supply in the first place, without interruption, the regions which have contracted the raising of bacon hogs and ham-type pigs, then, as the production of the concentrates

grows, to extend delivery to other types of contracted animal production and to other regions of the country;

- to introduce the contractation of pigs on the basis of exchanging fodder mixtures for grain on terms advantageous to the farmers;

- to introduce on State Farms and cooperative farms the practice of feeding livestock exclusively with mashes of concentrated fodder to be supplied in exchange for the delivery of the entire amount of grain hitherto used as fodder.

3 To increase the production of cereals and the fodder resources in our agriculture it is necessary:

- where the soil is good or medium to replace less high-yielding cereals with wheat and rye; in the next four years increase the area under wheat by 600,000 hectares, that is, up to some 2,000,000 hectares, and introduce the contracting of wheat on a wide scale;

- to establish a three-year period, from 1963 to 1965, for the exchange of grain seeds in the provinces of Bydgoszcz, Wrocław, Opole, Gdańsk, Poznań and Zielona Góra;

- to improve the equipment of seed-producing and reproducing farms by supplying them with the necessary machinery and installations, while promoting contractation and specialization in the production of high-quality seeds.

In order to speed up the rise in potato crops it is necessary:

- to intensify production of seed potatoes in the northern provinces, ensure priority in these regions to the contractation of seed potatoes before any other kind of contractation, provide better supplies of fertilizers, plant-protecting agents and sprayers to the reproducing farms, and improve the staff of instructors;

- to speed up the organization of closed regions throughout the country for the reproduction of seed potatoes and ensure

proper discipline with regard to the exchange of seed material and the use of plant-protecting agents.

To increase the yields of protein-rich plants it is necessary:

- to take the needed steps in order to expand by 1965 the acreage under lucerne to 400,000 hectares and that under clover to 800,000 hectares;

- to introduce contractation for small beans for seed, beginning with 20,000 hectares in 1963 up to 50,000 hectares in 1965;

- to expand the cultivation of other leguminous and papilionaceous plants, especially as aftercrops and catch crops;

- to increase the contractation of fodder plant seeds to a quantity that would fully meet the growing requirements of agriculture and permit the laying in of the necessary stock of seeds.

Properly tended meadows and improved methods of harvesting and storing fodder are of great importance in augmenting the fodder resources. In this connection, it is especially necessary:

- to broaden instructional work and popularize the advantages of ensilaged fodder, so that the production of silage may be doubled in three years;

- to develop the cultivation of maize for ensilage, adopting at the same time the method of enriching it with urea;

- to popularize the ensilaging of green forage, especially in areas where the drying of hay results in an excessive loss of protein, and introduce better methods for drying hay.

4 State Farms have a special part to play in the modernization of our agriculture. Their seed and stock-raising production contributes more and more to the development of agriculture as a whole. There is a steady rise in their marketable production and in their share of supplying the country with farm produce.

But some of the State Farms continue to have a low output and high production costs, thus showing financial losses.

It is of utmost importance to raise the farming level of all State Farms and make full use of their great production potentialities so that each State Farm may become a highly productive, efficient Socialist enterprise with a high marketable output.

This calls for increased capital investments, the modernization of the technical base and the strengthening of State Farm personnel.

Additional funds should be allocated for better equipment of all State Farms with the means of production, for improving the work of neglected farms, and for taking over and putting to use some 200,000 hectares of new land by 1965.

These funds should be used in the first place for:

- a substantial increase in the pool of tractors and modern agricultural machines so that in four years an average of 17 traction units, including 14 mechanical units, may be achieved for every 100 hectares of agricultural land;

- mechanization of the harvesting of most of the cereals with combines, mechanization of straw gathering after the combines and the harvesting of green forage, as well as mechanization of the basic work in tilling and harvesting root crops and also in livestock farming;

- farm buildings and equipment for the seed producing and reproducing farms, for production as well as residential and community buildings on the weaker State Farms and those that are developing under difficult conditions;

- facilities necessary for the proper use and maintenance of the expanding tractor and machine pool.

Weak, unprofitable State Farms need special attention and help from the Party and government authorities. Plans for

these farms should be worked out that provide for less labour-consuming production, suited to their actual possibilities.

The further development of State Farms depends on the strengthening of their managerial staff and the raising of the qualifications of the farm workers.

The living conditions of State Farm employees and their families must be improved; the People's Councils must show greater concern for the continued improvement in the supply of goods, in medical care and education. There should be strict observance of the principle that houses belonging to State Farms may be used only by people entitled to them. People not entitled to such houses should be moved to substitute quarters and, until this is done, charged with a higher rent to cover the cost of use and the amortization of the building.

In order to strengthen the managerial staff of the State Farms, it is necessary to make the leading Party bodies and government authorities responsible for sending agricultural experts to work on State Farms that have a shortage of, or totally lack, specialists with a higher and secondary agricultural education. The principle that graduates of higher and secondary agricultural schools are obliged to start work in their profession with a period of practice on socialized farms, should be observed. Heads of enterprises, organizations and institutions which engage agricultural school graduates who have not had the obligatory training period in production should be called to responsibility; the graduates should be dismissed from work and sent for practical work on State Farms.

The Ministers of Agriculture, Higher Education and Education are duty-bound to organize a network of centres for courses and consultations that will make possible the expansion of the system of correspondence courses (secondary school and college level) for training agricultural specialists, raise the



qualifications of experienced State Farm managers who have not had an agricultural education, improve the qualifications of agricultural specialists, and train field brigade leaders, foremen and mechanizers for the State Farms.

5 Cooperative farms should be raised as speedily as possible to the level of highly productive, modern farms to serve as examples of the superiority of socialized forms of farming.

To achieve this it is necessary:

- to speed up — with funds of the cooperative farms and with increased aid by the state — the process of modernization and intensification of cooperative farming;

- to supply more modern machines, equipment and mineral fertilizers and introduce the widespread use of electric power for production purposes;

- to ensure the help of the Presidium of the People's Councils to cooperative farms in preparing for building investments and in securing for them efficient service on the part of construction enterprises;

- to give greater amounts of credit to cooperative farms for the purpose of cultivating land from the State Land Fund;

- to carry out in full the Party's recommendation with regard to the permanent employment of agricultural specialists as heads of production on some of the cooperative farms and provide them with proper housing.

The leading Party bodies should make regular studies of the state of production and organization of the cooperative farms and see to it that the government and economic agencies live up to the tasks in the realm of assistance and services.

6 The agricultural circles play an increasingly more important part in raising the level of farming and promoting advanced methods of production. Their part in the mechanization



of agriculture is also greater. But their activity in this field is not sufficiently effective, mainly because the sets of tractors and machines are too dispersed and there is a lack of proper planning in distributing them among the agricultural circles, and also because of the inadequate qualifications and technical knowledge of most of their tractor drivers.

Mechanization of agriculture can only develop successfully when the agricultural machines are concentrated in regions and villages where proper socio-economic conditions exist and where mechanization is properly coordinated with the expansion of the repair facilities, with the training of personnel and proper organizational and instructional work.

To ensure that proper use is made of the machines and that the agricultural circles become even more active in the field of farm-production it is necessary:

- to consider it of foremost importance to complete the sets of tractors and machines in communities which have repair shops and in communities situated near such repair shops;

- to start to set up repair shops, as branches of State Machine Centres, in communities where large numbers of tractor-and-machine sets are concentrated or where, in accordance with plans, such concentration will soon take place;

- to draw up in each province and county a plan for the building of State Machine Centre branches between 1963 and 1965, the building schedule being based on the present state of the tractor pool in the countryside and its expected increase; the community Machine Centre repair shops should be financed from the Agricultural Development Fund;

- to advise the agricultural circles which will be in a position to buy tractor-and-machine sets only at a later date, to take up and expand activity in the realm of farm mechanization by buying threshing machines, plant-protecting apparatus, machines for grain cleaning and dressing, and in regions where

small farms predominate as well as in hilly regions, to buy seeders and some other types of horse-drawn machines.

All agricultural circles should do more in the way of raising the level of farming, especially with regard to implementing the seed plan, plant protection, cultivation of meadows, expansion of the area under wheat as well as that under lucerne, clover and other protein-rich plants.

In order that the technical equipment in possession of the agricultural circles may become a factor in the intensification of production and in raising the level of farming, it is necessary that the community agronomists and State Machine Centre instructors give ever better assistance to the agricultural circles. The Party and the People's Councils should see to it that agronomists' centres are built on schedule and that the village agronomist comes to live in the region where he works at the earliest possible time.

To make the work of the repair shops more efficient and lower the costs of repairs it is necessary:

- to make it the duty of the Presidiums of the People's Councils to see to it that the planned workshops for repairing motors and the new State Machine Centres are built on time — in accordance with the directives of the Ministry of Agriculture;

- to promote greater specialization on the part of the enterprises which do major repairs of definite types of tractors and complex agricultural machines, and to ensure the concentration of these services and the reduction of repair costs.

7 The speeding up of the mechanization of agriculture calls for increased production and import of tractors and agricultural machines, expansion of a number of factories and modernization of their plant.

In this connection it is necessary:

- to produce 4,600 combines, 2,150 fluidized dryers and 7,500 pick-up presses in 1963-1965; in addition, it is necessary to expand the production of elevator diggers, beet combines, seeders and plough parts, and start the production of green forage driers;

- to begin the production of equipment for the transportation and spreading of lime fertilizer and ammonia water so as to provide agriculture in 1965, with the means for the mechanized spreading of 250,000 tons of lime (in pure content) and at least 100,000 tons of ammonia water;

- to increase in 1964-1965 the production of the C-325 tractor to 17,000 a year, continue the production of the *Ursus* C-451 tractor, of which 2,600 should be delivered in 1963-1965, and start the production of the *Zetor* 4011 tractor;

- to make it the duty of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and the interested ministries to work out a programme for the production of trailers in a quantity that would eliminate the shortage of this equipment.

§ It is absolutely necessary to improve construction on farms. Building costs are too high and the planned tasks not carried out.

The new, expanded building programme makes it imperative that we go over from traditional methods of building to more modern ones, based on the assembly of standard sections.

Our agriculture should be especially interested in the most uniform possible, and thus easy to erect, buildings the layout and construction of which would present no obstacles to adapting them to new purposes and better means of utilization. The number of standard designs of buildings for agriculture should therefore be limited and suitable for construction based on

standard prefabricated sections; the production of such sections should be developed, their efficient distribution ensured, and the building enterprises which serve agriculture supplied with the necessary equipment for their assembly.

The Presidiums of the Provincial People's Councils should exercise stricter supervision of investment outlays for building.

In the course of 1963 the provinces of Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk, Koszalin, Olsztyn, Opole, Poznań, Szczecin, Wrocław and Zielona Góra should make preparations for turning the State Farm building-and-repair establishments into enterprises for agricultural construction, with a much greater output capacity and coming under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In the remaining provinces the Ministry of Construction and the Building Materials Industry should be responsible for carrying out the work connected with capital investment projects in agriculture.

9 The growing, fragmentation of farm holdings and the checkerboard of fields constitute an obstacle to the development of agriculture. The division of land among members of the family — the main reason for the fragmentation of farms — aggravates the economic situation of hundreds of thousands of farms that are burdened with payments to heirs who had left the farms and with the help of the state obtained work in non-agricultural trades.

The Central Committee believes that more effective measures must be adopted to deal with this harmful phenomenon namely:

- the introduction of legislation prohibiting the dividing of medium-sized and small farms;

- the granting of the right to inherit farms only to people to whom work on the farm is the chief source of livelihood,

or to people with adequate qualifications for farming who express their readiness to run the inherited farm; the granting to the remaining heirs: parents, members of the family incapable of working, minors — school children and students — for the years of study, the right to receive payments (out of the estate), while excluding persons with steady work outside of agriculture from sharing in the inheritance;

— the restriction of the sale of land, permitting the sale of farms only as a whole, or to enlarge other farms and improve their structure.

**10** The 200,000 hectares of community land are a great production reserve of our agriculture. To eliminate the haphazard utilization of this land and the danger of its subsequent devastation, it should be put to good use for farming purposes on the following principles:

— the right to share in the use of community land should be given only to peasants who really benefited from it during at least the preceding year; the division of community land into individual plots should be prohibited; those entitled to share in the community land should undertake to farm it collectively by forming a group, and, in the event of failing to do so in the prescribed time or not farming the community land, a group should be formed by compulsion.

**11** The fulfilment of the new tasks in agriculture calls for the concentration of additional investment funds and also for changes in the investment plan for 1963-1965. Altogether the additional capital outlays for the development of agriculture in 1963-1965 will come to 9,000 or 9,500 million zlotys.

The funds to cover these outlays should be obtained by the reduction of other items in the investment plan, by the postponement, until after 1965, the spending of a part of the Agri-

cultural Development Fund, and by making use of a part of the reserve funds allocated for production of goods hitherto imported.

12 The increased capital outlays for agriculture and the branches of industry serving its needs, as well as the growing importance of the state in planning and organizing agricultural development, call for better coordination and more efficient and more operative methods of leadership on the part of the government authorities and Party committees.

It is therefore necessary to bring into being organizational forms — on a central, provincial and county level — that would ensure proper cooperation between the administrative organs of agriculture and the State Farms, the State Machine Centres, the food processing industry, the farm machinery industry, the various control institutions, cooperative farms, credit institutions, associations of agricultural circles, etc.

Concerted action by these organs and institutions, carried on under the leadership of the Party, is indispensable at present so that the best possible use would be made of the growing resources to exploit all the potentialities latent in agriculture and to implement the plans for the development of farm production.

Improvement of Party and state leadership in matters of agriculture must be accompanied by better Party work in the countryside.

The key to better work lies in the closest possible attention of the Party committees — County and Community Committees — as well as the Party organization in the countryside, on State Farms and in State Machine Centres, to matters of production, building and the level of farming.

Party organizations on State Farms must feel fully co-respon-



sible for the implementation of the production and quota delivery plans, for the prompt and proper execution of all work, for instructional work in the application of progressive methods of production, for the intelligent use of machines and implements, for the execution of building work — in a word, for everything that has a bearing on the implementation of state aims by the given farm. The Party organization can neither take the place of the State Farm manager nor duplicate his work. Its work should be concentrated on the activity of the Workers' Self-Government, on encouraging discipline among the employees, on upholding the authority of the manager, on strongly opposing wastefulness, and on concerning itself with the living conditions and cultural life of the employees. The Party Committees and organizations should make it their special job to look after the young people — young specialists sent to work on the State Farms — and to see to it that State Farm employees raise their vocational qualifications and the level of their education.

The County Committees should maintain a more regular contact with the Party organizations on State Farms; in this connection, they should strengthen their apparatus and make use of Party activists, especially those who by reason of their official duties visit the State Farms.

In the counties where many State Farms are concentrated special groups should be set up in the agricultural commissions of the County Committees, whose task should be;

- to help the State Farms and their Party organizations in the carrying out of their administrative and production tasks;
- to give assistance to State Farm managers, in particular to newly appointed agricultural specialists, and to support all steps taken by them designed to improve neglected farms and turn them into going concerns;
- to ensure proper service to the State Farms on the part



of the building enterprises, trading organizations, and educational, cultural and medical institutions.

In these counties the job of agricultural secretaries of the County Committee should be held by comrades who have an agricultural education and the obligatory several years' practical training period on a State Farm.

Party work among the peasants should be concentrated on organizing and giving impetus to the activity of the agricultural circles. The tasks we place before the agricultural circles are at the same time the basis for the work of the Party organizations.

Concentration of the attention and efforts of all rural Party organizations on production problems, aiming of their activity at the implementation of community plans, land improvement plans, seed-growing and plant-protection plans, at raising the level of farming knowledge and practice, at concrete objectives of the agricultural circles in the realm of production and services, at voluntary projects — in other words, linking Party work with the cause of progress in the countryside and the everyday interests of the farmers and thus becoming the mainspring for the growth of the influence and prestige of the Party and ensuring the fulfilment of our tasks.

The practice should be introduced of holding regular, joint meetings of our Party organizations and United Peasant Party circles, and the joint drawing up of practical tasks closely connected with peasant farming.

In every County Committee a sufficiently large group of activists should be rallied around the agricultural commission in order to make it possible to maintain steady contact with, and render assistance to, the Community Committees and the Party organizations in the countryside.

Party committees throughout the country should make increased efforts to shift to agricultural production — to the

State Farms, agronomists' centres and veterinary stations — the large number of agricultural specialists, agronomists and stock-breeding experts who to this day work in various agencies or institutions that are only loosely connected with agricultural production.

The tasks which we are now putting forward on the agricultural front throughout the country will call for constant attention on the part of the Provincial and County Committees. These tasks should be concretized in each province and county, and all Party bodies should systematically see to their fulfilment.

WITOLD JAROSIŃSKI

Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

## ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE POLISH STUDENT ASSOCIATION

FEBRUARY 11, 1963

*Dear Young Friends!*  
*Comrades!*

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the leadership of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, on behalf of the National Unity Front Committee I heartily welcome and greet the 5th Congress of the Polish Student Association and convey to you, Comrade Delegates, ardent wishes for successful and fruitful deliberations.

Through you we send our hearty wishes to the 170,000 Polish students who, in the universities, polytechnical institutes, agricultural colleges, higher schools of economics, medical academies, pedagogical colleges and other institutions of higher learning, are acquiring knowledge and preparing themselves for responsible professional work.

The Polish Student Association (PSA) has no mean achievements to its credit; it is winning ever greater recognition and confidence among students, expresses and moulds their views and opinions, and participates in the formation of the Socialist character of our institutions of higher learning, in the education of a Socialist intelligentsia. For that reason, we attach great importance to the deliberations of your Congress and are convinced that they will help to raise the activities of the PSA among student youth to a higher level and to augment your



WITOLD JAROSINSKI

role in the implementation of the great tasks which now face the institutions of higher learning.

Your Congress is taking place not quite two months after the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PUWP which formulated a long-range programme for the development of higher education and science in our country.

This programme is the result of a critical evaluation of our achievements to date as well as of bold thinking, with an eye to the future, in order to be in a position to

meet the needs being brought by our stormy and difficult, yet at the same time splendid, era — the era of triumphs of Socialism, the era of unprecedented revolutionary progress of science and technology.

Three years ago, taking part in your jubilee Congress, Comrade Wiesław (Gomułka) said:

“The main task which stands before you today, before the entire Polish nation, is that of placing Poland in the ranks of the highly industrialized countries of the world. The basic condition for the attainment of this goal is the utilization of all the possibilities offered us by modern science and technology. The rate of development of our country, the triumph of Socialism in competition with capitalism are today determined in the first place by the mathematical sciences, the polytechnical

institutes, the laboratories and design offices; they are determined by the highly qualified cadre of scientific workers, engineers, economists, technicians and all workers employed in the production of material goods."

Guided by these principles, our Party has in recent years devoted particularly much attention to the question of the development of education and science, to the problem of educating and preparing qualified cadres for the needs of the national economy and culture. During the first 15 years of People's Poland, primary, secondary and higher education developed on a large scale. Generally speaking, the backwardness which for decades was a ballast on the educational system was overcome. However, this quantitative development and spreading of education took place, on the whole, along traditional forms. At present, in face of the new requirements, in face of the new and higher stage of development of the Socialist national economy, in face of the new tasks stemming from the progress of present-day science and technology, and also thanks to the greatly increased possibilities — we have undertaken major reforms, at first of primary and secondary education, and more recently also of higher education.

The deliberations and resolutions of the last Plenum of the CC concerned matters that are of particular importance for the young generation. The development of institutions of higher learning, especially of the technical, mathematical and teaching faculties, the extension of studies for working people, the raising of the efficiency and level of education, the development of post-graduate studies — all of this will have a vital influence on the future of the young generation, will create for it new and greater opportunities for education and social advancement.

Not so long ago, in the pre-war years, there were still almost one million illiterates in Poland.

Today, the national economy employs 954,000 persons with



COMRADE JAROSIŃSKI HANDS THE NATIONAL UNITY FRONT COMMITTEE BANNER TO THE PRESIDUM OF THE CONGRESS

higher or secondary education. It has been estimated that in 1980 some 800,000 persons with higher education, including nearly 350,000 engineers, will be working in our country, and more than 2 million persons will have secondary vocational education. Hundreds of thousands of boys and girls will have the opportunity to acquire the highest possible professional qualifications, the opportunity to do creative work for the good of society.

The young generation, which is today studying in our schools and universities, will work in a period when our nation will build Socialism and will be marching towards Communism, when progress in science and technology will cause a radical



revolution in the methods of manufacturing. It is necessary therefore to equip our young intelligentsia for the future, to educate and bring it up in such a way that, thanks to its skills and ideological attitude, it will be able to cope with the tasks which will confront it, so that by its creative work it will pave the road for those progressive transformations. Our entire society has a profound interest in this, but especially so the young people, for upon the quality of the preparation during studies, will, to a great extent, depend their future, their social role and professional accomplishments. The deeper the knowledge and qualifications of the individual, the richer his personal culture, the better are his possibilities to live a beautiful, interesting and useful life, the greater is his value as a citizen.

### *Comrades!*

The implementation of the tasks outlined by the 11th Plenum of the CC will require a great effort by the entire community and considerable material outlays for the development of universities and colleges, for the extension and equipment of laboratories, for the construction of students' hostels and teaching facilities.

Especially difficult duties rest on the shoulders of the university authorities and the teaching staff. Tasks connected with changes in the curricula, with raising the level of teaching, with the opening of higher vocational schools, etc., — can be solved primarily by the teaching staff itself. The organizations of student youth can and should give assistance in this respect; they should cooperate with the professors and submit their recommendations and demands. But the main field of action for the youth organizations, the main task stemming from the decisions of the 11th Plenum, is to mould a proper attitude on the part of the students with respect to their present duties at the universities and their future duties at the work establish-



ments. The student is not, and cannot be, a passive object of education by the university. In actual fact, his attitude to education, his passion for acquiring knowledge and his sense of social responsibility determine the outcome of the studies to no less a degree than the work of the teaching staff.

Most young people who today fill the lecture halls of the universities and colleges approach their duties with the necessary seriousness and responsibility, earnestly apply themselves to their studies, desire to obtain the best possible results, and prepare themselves conscientiously for future professional work. However, both in the work of the institutions of higher learning and in the attitude of some of the students there are many serious shortcomings. During the pre-Plenum discussion and at the CC Plenum itself much was said about the alarmingly low efficiency of studies in many of our universities and colleges.

Let us take, for instance, such an important school of higher education as the Warsaw Polytechnic. According to the figures of its Rector's Office, during the inter-war period 42 out of every 100 students of the Warsaw Polytechnic completed their studies. In this same school, in People's Poland, the index, has so far risen relatively little: 49 out of every 100 students admitted complete their studies. In the pre-war period, however, there were many causes of a social and economic nature which made it difficult for a large proportion of the young people to study. If we take this fact into account we must draw the conclusion that our progress in the field of efficiency of studies is definitely too little. In addition to the many causes of this low efficiency of studies which cannot be attributed to the students and rather concern the organization of the courses, shortcomings in the curricula, shortcomings in the teaching work — weaknesses which require counter-measures on the part of the university authorities — an important factor in lowering the results of

studies is the improper attitude of some of the students to their duties.

The social role and significance of higher education is, in our country, a country that is building Socialism, qualitatively different from the pre-war period. At that time, studies were accessible to a narrow section of young people and to a great extent constituted their own private affair — something which could facilitate their personal start in life. The costs of the studies and maintenance expenses had to be covered by the student's family. The passion for acquiring knowledge or at least the striving for a personal career and the burden of the costs of the studies obviously compelled students from poor and lower middle-class families to make an intensive effort during the studies. It was a different story with the students who came from the propertied classes. It was from this milieu that the "eternal students" frequently came.

At present, under the conditions of a socialized and planned economy, in a Socialist society, the education of cadres with the highest possible qualifications has become a matter of concern for the entire nation. Of course today, too, a university diploma gives a young person great personal opportunities; it opens up before him broad prospects for creative work, personal development and success. But at the same time, the community is greatly interested that the young people who take up studies should complete them successfully. The People's State has taken upon itself the costs of education, amounting from 120,000 to 150,000 zlotys per student. It gives more than half of the students assistance in the form of stipends, students' hostels, food tickets, and in the case of correspondence and evening courses, in the form of leaves with full pay, shortened working hours, and so forth. In the past academic year alone some 768 million zlotys were expended for stipends, maintenance

and construction of students' hostels and for students' dining rooms and holidays, and this year more than 892 million zlotys have been allocated for this purpose.

In creating broad opportunities for young people to study, the state is counting on the institutions of higher learning to educate the necessary number of specialists at the required time, to ensure — in accordance with the development plans — properly prepared cadres for the mines, mills, factories, farms and schools. The pursuit of studies successfully and on schedule on the part of each student, and also the best possible utilization of his qualifications where they are required most, constitute an important social question. Here we have the convergence of personal and social interests that is so characteristic of Socialism.

Your organization should, therefore, concentrate its attention on creating an atmosphere among student youth that makes for a correct attitude towards studies, towards the duties of students. It is necessary to combat, more firmly than hitherto, the carefree and lighthearted attitude of some of the young people to their obligations, the lack of a sense of social responsibility for the results of their studies.

There can be no room in a Socialist university for the so-called "golden youth." Its attitude and way of life belong to another era, to an epoch that has passed. For that reason, all who would like to cultivate this attitude, should feel round themselves an atmosphere of general disapproval — the students should treat them as they deserve.

Of course, a proper atmosphere is not sufficient for overcoming all the difficulties which diminish the efficiency of studies. Nor is the enthusiasm of the young people for education enough in itself. The students have to be helped; they should be shown how to study in the most rational and effective manner. A great

role in this regard can be played by the students' youth organizations, especially by the Polish Student Association. They can give a lot of assistance to the teachers, particularly in their work with first-year students who frequently do not know how to organize their time in the university and in the students' hostel, how to make proper use of the lectures, seminars, exercises and consultations, how to work in the library, make notes, etc.

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A second matter of great social importance to which I should like to draw your attention is that of the proper utilization by young people of their knowledge and qualifications after their studies. We have repeatedly and correctly spoken of the important role played by the young intelligentsia, educated in People's Poland, in the development of our Socialist economy, education and culture. The basic production and technical achievements of our industry and agriculture are to a great extent due to their work.

During recent years thousands of young university graduates have undertaken work not only in the main cultural and economic centres of the country but also in the newly developing economic centres in the provinces. These young people are making a major contribution to the development of these centres: they promote the growth of social culture, frequently inspire valuable social initiative, and awake the healthy ambition of the local population to develop towns and regions which until recently were still very neglected and remained outside the mainstream of economic and social transformations. As a result, they enjoy well-deserved respect. Many of them have been active socially and politically, including within the ranks of our Party.

However, we must admit that not all employees with higher education are utilized properly in our country.

On the one hand, we have a great shortage of engineers, teachers, agronomists, on the other hand, however, quite a number of these experts are holding positions for which a secondary vocational education would suffice, or else are doing work of a secondary nature as far as the social needs are concerned. There have even been cases of university and college graduates taking jobs in fields which have little in common with their studies.

But these extreme cases are not the most important. More frequently there is another phenomenon. For instance, young graduates of agricultural studies are required in various institutions: in agricultural vocational schools, in agricultural banks, in state administration, in various insurance agencies, in trade, etc., but most socially needed is their work directly in production, especially on the State Farms. Quite often a young university graduate gives up ambitious work in production, work that is most useful socially and most promising for him personally, in order to remain in a big city, he "fixes himself up" in an office, in service institutions or in administration. Here, a great opportunity for a suitable career — the most purposeful utilization of one's qualifications, capabilities and energy in the service of society — is exchanged for the comforts of life in a big city. Therefore, the question of the placement of graduates cannot be left to take a spontaneous course.

A society which has enabled a young person to acquire a higher education has the right to expect that he will undertake work where his qualifications bring the greatest benefit to the society and at the same time enable him fully to develop his creative possibilities. For that reason the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee has recommended the elaboration and

introduction of a system of planned placement of university graduates in jobs in accordance with the needs of society.

It is not right to limit this principle to those graduates who had scholarships granted by places of work or other types of stipends. This form of assistance constitutes only part, and not the greatest part at that, of the social outlays for the education of a student. Factory scholarships, which have won their place in our universities, will of course continue to be employed on an increasing scale as an especially convenient form of planned placement of graduates. There is need, however, of such organization of the system of factory scholarships that would fully reveal their social merits. It should be an essential feature of the factory scholarship that, thanks to it, the stipend holder could already during his studies enter into close contact with his future place of work and form ties with the workers as well as with the engineering and technical personnel. Starting work after graduation, such a scholarship holder will find himself in a better position than other graduates since he will enter a milieu which he has come to know and which has come to know him. This can help him to avoid much difficulty and to facilitate a successful start in his profession.

A certain role could be played in the solution of this problem by Regional Students' Circles which, on the basis of the natural ties of the students coming from the villages and small towns, bring closer to these students the problems of their own region during the period of studies and open up before them the possibilities of professional work in their native area after graduation.

At the same time, efforts will be made to ensure university graduates, especially former scholarship holders, appropriate professional stabilization in their places of work by providing them, in the first place, with suitable housing. It is necessary that the Polish Student Association as well as the Socialist



Youth Union and the Rural Youth Union explain to the young people the meaning and correctness of all these decisions.

An extremely important element of university and college education is the acquiring by the young people of a knowledge of the fundamental principles of the Marxist world outlook and a proper orientation on the main aspects of the domestic and international policy of our Party. After all, once they graduate from our institution of higher education and start to work, they will be putting this policy into practice. We know that the young people now studying, brought up in People's Poland, are closely linked to the Socialist system by their feelings and experience. However, the level of political and social development with which many graduates leave the university or college cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Some of the young people are not very active politically, and their interest in political and social problems is very slight. This reduces the ability of graduates to do justice to their professional tasks.

Life frequently corrects these shortcomings in the educational work of the institutions of higher learning. Under the influence of their fellow workers, young graduates of universities are drawn into the mainstream of social life and become active participants in it. It is significant that during the first years of professional work a large proportion of the university and college graduates, especially engineers and teachers, join the ranks of our Party. Many of them become active members. It would be wrong, however, to count on practice making up for the shortcomings in the work of the institutions of higher learning. It should be the principal duty of the teaching staff and, above all, of the youth organizations, to conduct the most energetic and varied activity for moulding the ideological and socio-political attitude of the students.

Hence it is necessary that both during the process of educational work of the universities and colleges and through the



activities of the youth organizations the political interests of the students be developed, a correct orientation on the key political problems be given them, and a conscious affinity with the policy of our Party be awakened in the young people.

Great and hitherto only partly exploited possibilities of promoting both scientific and socio-political interests among the students are inherent in the scientific circles movement. These circles contain the liveliest and intellectually most ambitious section of the youth. Guidance of their interest, wherever possible, on to present-day and socially important problems and assistance in the mastery of Marxist methodology, can be of great importance also for farthing the socio-political maturity of the students.

The Polish Student Association has considerable achievements in the field of student cultural activities. In dozens of small theatres, choirs, orchestras and song and dance ensembles, thousands of students find an opportunity for cultural entertainment and creative development of their abilities and talents, inventiveness and initiative.

Most of the student ensembles stand out for their creative spirit of searching, ideological engagement of the repertoire and forms of artistic expression corresponding to the youthful striving for something new. The Polish Student Association should fight more consistently than hitherto, to mould the aesthetic views and cultural level of students, eliminate from the cultural life of the university and college that which has no ideals, which is superficial, trashy, which caters to poor taste or snobbish vogues.

In addition to the development of artistic ensembles, it is now necessary to intensify cultural work among students on the basis of television, theatres, cinemas and radio diffusion system, to pay greater attention to cultural work in large student centres — in students' hostels, and to strive to organize benefi-

cial and cultural pastimes for the students. Your activities in the field of culture should be guided by the awareness that the young intelligentsia now studying in our universities and colleges will in the future exert an influence on the cultural level of our entire society, on the moulding of its views and likings in the field of art.

The Association also has to its credit the organization of student participation in socially useful work. Such forms of voluntary work as the "Students For Their City," "White Sundays," and other such campaigns have been readily accepted by students. These, however, are casual affairs and are more of a symbol than practical value. It would be worth while to go further. Students, apart from those at the Polytechnical institutes where there is practical work in production, have little opportunity to take part in production work, especially physical work, yet such participation would be an effective antidote to the love of comfort exhibited by many young people, to their lack of stamina, and ignorance of the living and working conditions of the working class. There is a big field for all sorts of initiative in this regard.

For several years now the Socialist Youth Union, together with the Rural Youth Union and the Polish Student Association, has been organizing student harvest brigades during the summer vacations. It would be good for the three organizations to join forces for the purpose of broadening this action and turning it into a permanent custom, so that during the vacations, especially when there are no study camps or practical work, students would give part of their free time for the needs of the national economy.

*Comrades!*

Campus activities are carried by two ideological-educational organizations — the Socialist Youth Union (SYU) and the Rural Youth Union (RYU) which embrace more than 30 per cent

of the young people, and by the Polish Student Association (PSA) which embraces practically the entire student body.

In this situation, there is the important problem of mutual relations and joint action by the youth organizations.

The SYU and the PSA are guided in their activities by an identical ideological-educational program. There are no ideological and political differences between them. They are confronted by similar tasks arising from the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the CC. The problems of the youth are the same as far as its social tasks are concerned.

Everything, therefore, indicates that the youth organizations should not act singly, in a divided fashion. It is difficult to accept the fact that the same, or similar, campaigns are conducted separately by three organizations. We are of the opinion that steps should be taken to combine the efforts of these organizations, to work for united action in all basic fields of student life. The SYU and RYU, as ideological-educational organizations, should of course play a particularly active role in ideological and political work among the student youth. The specific tasks of the PSA, which has in its ranks almost all students, including members of the Party, the SYU and RYU, give this organization possibility to exert an educational influence on very large sections of students and to activize them socially and politically. For that reason, we feel that student activists of our Party, and also SYU and RYU members, should give impetus to the work of the PSA. We can ensure the comrades that the Party committees and branches in the universities and colleges will continue to give systematic assistance to the youth organizations, especially in political education.

*Comrades!*

The working class, our entire nation, places great hopes, in the students; it is doing everything possible to ensure them

the best conditions for studies and existence. On you, young friends, on your work and your attitude to your study, depends to what extent these hopes will be fulfilled. Our Socialist society has created for you, students, especially great opportunities in life; it is up to you yourselves to make full use of them for the sake of your own future and for the sake of contributing to the national cause of building Socialism.

The National Unity Front Committee has donated a banner for your organization, the Polish Student Association, and has entrusted me with its presentation to you. In doing so, I wish you, comrades, on behalf of the leadership of our Party, on behalf of the National Unity Front Committee, that your organization should help the student body more and more effectively to acquire a deep understanding and knowledge of the noble Socialist social ideals, that the Polish Student Association should more and more deserve the name of a school of civic education for students.

# M A T E R I A L S   A N D   D O C U M E N T S

## STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY ON PERSECUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN IRAQ

A BLOODY TERROR HAS NOW BEEN RAGING FOR TWO WEEKS IN IRAQ. ULTRA-REACTIONARY ELEMENTS, ENJOYING THE SUPPORT OF THE PETROLEUM MONOPOLIES, CAME TO POWER IN THAT COUNTRY AND UNLEASHED A WAVE OF MASS REPRESSION AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC NATIONAL FORCES. UNDER COVER OF COMBATING "THE ADHERENTS OF THE KASSEM REGIME," REACTION IS DISPOSING, IN A BLOODY FASHION, OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAQ, OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS DEMOCRATIC GROUPS AND OF LEADERS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT. ARMED BANDS ARE PROWLING THROUGH THE WORKING-CLASS DISTRICTS OF BAGDAD AND OTHER TOWNS, MURDERING HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE IN THEIR HOMES OR IN THE STREETS. GENDARMES AND POLICE ARE SHOOTING PROGRESSIVE LEADERS. MORTAL DANGER THREATENS HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF FAITHFUL SONS OF THE IRAQ NATION WHO HAVE BEEN IN PRISONS OR CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

THE TERROR UNLEASHED BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE ULTRA-REACTIONARIES IN IRAQ IS LEVELLED AGAINST THE VERY DEMOCRATS AND PATRIOTS WHO FOR DECADES HAVE GIVEN THEIR ALL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR GENUINE FREEDOM FOR THEIR NATION, WHO, IN THE 1958 REVOLUTION, OVERTHREW THE PRO-IMPERIALIST REGIME OF NURI AL-SAID.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAQ, THE CHIEF VICTIM OF THIS REACTIONARY ATTACK, HAS ALWAYS STOOD IN THE FIRST RANKS OF FIGHTERS FOR IRAQ'S FREEDOM, HAS ALWAYS PROMOTED THE CAUSE OF UNITY OF THE PATRIOTIC NATIONAL FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, AGAINST REGIMES OF PERSONAL DICTATORSHIP.

THE BLOODY REPRESSION IS ALSO DIRECTED AGAINST LEADERS OF THE IRAQ PEACE MOVEMENT, WHOSE PARTICIPATION IN THE WORLD MOVEMENT FOR A LASTING PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS DID HONOUR TO THE IRAQ NATION.

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IS SHAKEN BY THESE TRAGIC EVENTS AND PROTESTS EMPHATICALLY AGAINST THE CRIMES OF IRAQ'S REACTIONARY FORCES. THIS TERROR IN IRAQ STRIKES AT THE ELEMENTARY CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS, IS CONTRARY TO THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE IRAQI REPUBLIC AND ITS PEOPLE, AND MAKES FOR INCREASED TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT SERVES SOLELY THE PURPOSE OF IMPERIALISM, WHICH DOES NOT ABANDON ITS EFFORTS TO RESTORE ITS DOMINATION OVER THE ARAB NATIONS.

IN THESE TRYING DAYS, IRAQ'S DEMOCRATS AND PATRIOTS HAVE THE SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT OF PROGRESSIVE PUBLIC OPINION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD IN THEIR HEROIC STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TERROR OF REACTION.

OUR PARTY EXPRESSES ITS EARNEST SOLIDARITY AND JOINS IN THE UNIVERSAL DEMAND THAT THE AUTHORITIES OF THE IRAQI REPUBLIC PUT AN END TO THE TERROR AND REPRESSION.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

## CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN POLAND

IN FEBRUARY 1963

**Jan. 23-** Polish-Hungarian talks  
**Feb. 3** were held in Budapest between representatives of the planning commissions and other government economic departments of the two countries on the subject of economic cooperation in connection with the long-term development plan up to 1980.

**1** An agreement was signed in Washington between Poland and the United States concerning the sale to Poland of \$51,600,000 worth of American agricultural produce on a long-term and interest-free credit basis. At the same time, provisions were made for cash purchases by Poland of an additional 200,000 tons of fodder grain and 10,000 tons of cotton in the course of 1963.

**4** Following a meeting of the Polish-Moroccan Mixed Commission in Warsaw a protocol was signed to the existing trade agreement between Poland and Morocco.

**5-7** On the invitation of the Minister of Foreign Trade, Witold Trąpczyński, Luigi Preti —

the Italian Minister of Foreign Trade — visited Warsaw in connection with Polish-Italian trade negotiations. On February 6, Signor Preti was received separately by Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUPW, Stefan Jędrychowski, Chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers and also by Adam Rapacki, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Polish and Italian Ministers of Foreign Trade held talks on the question of economic relations between the two countries.

**6-27** Polish-Italian negotiations on the subject of trade between the two countries in 1963, took place in Warsaw. A protocol, based on the long-term Polish-Italian trade agreement and defining the volume and character of trade between the two countries in 1963, was signed. The protocol provides for an increase of about 25 per cent in turnover.

**7** Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUPW, received Rodriguez Llom-



part, Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade of Cuba and head of the Cuban trade delegation that visited Poland, and also Carmelo Gonzalez, a member of the delegation.

**8-10** A Polish delegation, headed by Z. Ostrowski, Minister of Heavy Industry, visited Czechoslovakia and had talks with leading members of the Ministry of the General Machine-Building Industry of Czechoslovakia regarding cooperation between the Polish and Czechoslovak tractor industries.

**9** The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party took place in Warsaw. It was devoted to a discussion of ways and means to increase exports of items produced by small manufacturers.

**9-12** A government delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic, headed by Gheorghe Gaston Marin — Vice-Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee — paid a visit to Poland. In Warsaw, the members of the delegation had meetings with their Polish counterparts in the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers at which they discussed economic cooperation between the two countries during the period of the long-term development plan up to 1980. On the basis of the principle of international Socialist divi-

sion of labour, agreement was reached between the two countries on the main line of cooperation and specialization in branches of the national economy that are of utmost importance to the Polish People's Republic and the Rumanian People's Republic.

**11-14** The Fifth Congress of the Polish Student Association was held in Warsaw. It was attended by almost 300 delegates representing students of all the institutions of higher learning and teachers' colleges in Poland. The discussion was permeated with the spirit of the main slogan of the Congress: "Let Us Study and Raise Our Qualifications — The Country Needs Good Specialists!" Witold Jarosiński, Secretary of the CC of PUWP, delivered a speech in which he dealt with the question of training skilled personnel. The Congress adopted a general resolution evaluating and approving the work of the Polish Student Association between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses and containing a detailed programme of activity for the Polish Student Association for the next three years. Amendments to the Rules were adopted which define more clearly the character, aims and tasks of the Association. A delegation of the International Student Union, led by J. Pelikan, its chairman, and delegations of student organizations in the USSR,

German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, France and Belgium attended the Congress.

**11-16** Warsaw played host to a conference of representatives of industrial design institutes of the countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

**11-19** A delegation of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, including Professor Mark Mitin, Vice-Chairman of the Society and member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and Eugeniusz Kriukov, head of the department for the People's Democracies in the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, paid a visit to Poland.

On February 13, the members of the delegation were received by Czesław Wycech, chairman of the General Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm.

**11-28** A delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, headed by Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Hoang Van Diem, visited Warsaw and discussed trade between Poland and Vietnam in 1963. A protocol on trade for 1963, based on the long-term agreement, was signed which provides for an

increase in trade as compared with last year.

**12** "Thousandth Anniversary Badges," awarded by the All-Polish National Unity Front Committee in recognition of a major contribution to the celebration of the Thousandth Anniversary of the Polish State, were presented at a ceremonial meeting in Warsaw to outstanding Party, state and civic leaders. Among those receiving the Badge were Władysław Gomułka, Józef Cyrankiewicz, Zenon Kliszko, Marian Spychalski and others. The badges were presented by Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the All-Polish National Unity Front Committee and Chairman of the Council of State.

● A plenary meeting of the All-Polish National Unity Front Committee was held in Warsaw. It was devoted to evaluation of the work of the National Unity Front in 1962 and to a discussion of the main tasks for this year. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Party and Government, including Władysław Gomułka and Józef Cyrankiewicz. The main report was delivered by Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the All-Polish National Unity Front Committee and Chairman of the Council of State. Much of the discussion was devoted to this year's programme for celebrating the

Thousandth Anniversary of the Polish State. The meeting decided that the National Unity Front Committee should assume the patronage over the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, took the floor during the discussion.

**14** The governments of the Polish People's Republic and the Arab Republic of Yemen decided to raise their diplomatic representatives to the rank of ambassador.

**15-21** A Polish delegation, headed by Piotr Jaroszewicz, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, took part in the fourth session of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which was held in Moscow.

**17** In connection with the events in Iraq, the Presidium of the Polish Peace Committee issued a statement strongly protesting against the violence committed against peace leaders, patriots and democrats and appealing to the new authorities of the Republic of Iraq to put an end to the persecution.

**Feb. 17** A delegation of the  
**March 1** CC of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, led by Ivan Prymov, Secretary of the CC of

the CPB, visited Poland on the invitation of the CC of the PUWP. The members of the delegation acquainted themselves with the work of the Polish Party, had a number of meetings with the leadership of the Central Committee and the local active, and visited several cities and centres of interest, including Warsaw, Cracow, Bydgoszcz and Poznań.

**18** Poland and the Soviet Union signed an agreement in the Kremlin in Moscow, for cooperation in the extraction of potassium and the production of potash fertilizers. The agreement provides for the building up of the Soviet Union's production capacity in this field during 1965-1969 and the delivery of potash fertilizers to Poland.

- As a result of negotiations, a trade protocol for 1963 was signed in Warsaw between Poland and Rumania which provides for an increase of about 17 per cent in comparison with 1962.

- A clearing and payments agreement was signed between Poland and Sudan in Khartoum. This is the first trade agreement between the two countries.

**20** A trade and payments protocol for 1963 was signed in Tirana between Poland and Alba-

nia following negotiations by delegations of the two countries. This protocol was signed on the basis of the existing Polish-Albanian trade agreement for 1961-1965.

**21** The 45th anniversary of the Soviet Army was celebrated at a meeting held in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw. The meeting, attended by representatives of the Party leadership and the Government, was addressed by General Marian Spychalski, Minister of National Defence and member of the Political Bureau of the CC, and by Colonel General Georgi Khatagurov, Hero of the Soviet Union and Commander of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army.

● A communiqué published by the Central Statistical Office reported that industry fulfilled the plan for 1962 to the extent of 100.8 per cent. Industrial production increased by 8.4 per cent over 1961 while agricultural production registered a drop of 8.5 per cent. Capital investments amounted to 101,100 million zlotys in 1962.

● Following talks in Hanoi by a cultural delegation of the Polish government, a plan for implementing the 1963-1964 agreement on cultural cooperation between the Polish People's Republic

and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was signed by representatives of the two countries.

**21-22** A National Conference of the Workers' Active of the Socialist Youth Union took place in Warsaw. The conference, attended by 400 activists from work establishments, discussed the general problem of working youth and of those learning a trade in the factories, and concentrated on the question of technical progress and the raising of professional qualification. Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUPW, addressed the gathering.

**22** An agreement was signed in Moscow between the government of the Polish People's Republic and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance regarding the settlement of problems connected with the head office of Comecon institutions (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in Poland.

**23** In connection with the continuing persecution of Iraqi patriots and democrats, the Central Committee of the PUPW published a statement in which strongly protested against the crimes perpetrated by Iraqi reaction, expressed full solidarity with the Iraqi democratic forces, and joined in the popular demand that the Iraqi

authorities put an end to terror and reprisals.

● On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Army, the Polish Minister of National Defence, General Marian Spychalski, sent a telegram of congratulations to Rodion Malinovsky, Minister of National Defence of the USSR and Marshal of the Soviet Union.

**25** Jan Druto, Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Paris handed a note on behalf of the Polish government to Maurice Couve de Murville, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in which the Polish government strongly emphasized the danger to peace inherent in the treaty between France and the German Federal Republic. The note stated that "nuclear missiles in the hands of the German Federal Republic constitute a serious threat to the security of Poland and her allies, that, as a result, the government of the Polish People's Republic will be forced to draw — in agreement with its allies — the necessary conclusions with regard to its security."

**26-27** The 12th Plenum of the CC of the PUWP devoted to the question of increasing capital investments in agriculture and ensuring a further rise in farm production, was held in Warsaw. It was attended by representatives of the agricultural service, scientific institutes specializing in agricultural problems and directors of many State Farms. The meeting was opened by Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP. The introductory speech was delivered by Edward Ochab, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC. Władysław Gomułka delivered the concluding speech.

**28** As a result of trade negotiations conducted between government delegations of Poland and the German Democratic Republic, a protocol, based on the long-term agreement, was signed for mutual deliveries in 1963, which provides for an 11 per cent increase in trade over last year and a 27 per cent increase as compared with the figures envisaged for this year by the long-term agreement.







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